VALUES, CULTURE, AND CIVIL– MILITARY RELATIONS: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE POSTMODERN MILITARY

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The views expressed in this academic research paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the official policy or position of the U.S. Government, the Department of Defense, or any of its agencies.

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ABSTRACT

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This paper analyzes the impact of changing values and culture, both on American society and the military institution, against the framework of civil-military relations. Social and technological change has had a profound effect on culture and the shaping and ordering of value sets in American society. These changes affect military culture and values in a variety of ways, most notably in the realm of military effectiveness. This paper assesses the basic sociological impact of technological and social change on value systems and culture from a historical perspective. With this basic understanding, an analysis of military culture is presented, from which conclusions about military effectiveness are derived and recommendations made for the future of military culture and civil-military relations in America.

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> Duty – Honor – Country. Those three hallowed words reverently dictate what you ought
> to be, what you can be, what you will be. They are your rallying points: to build courage
> when courage seems to fail; to regain faith when there seems to be little cause for faith;
> to create hope when hope becomes forlorn.

—General Douglas MacArthur[1]

What is it the military values and why is it important for America? The debate over the role of the military in a democratic society has always elicited emotion and has been particularly acrimonious in the Post World War II period, defined predominately by a large standing military[2]. Dramatic changes in the international security environment in the last decade have forced America to reevaluate national interests and begin to redefine military roles and missions. Additionally, rapid technological growth and social and economic change in American society have contributed to a shifting perception of military values and culture at a time when the basic military ethic, obedient and unselfish service to the state, is, perhaps, the only consistent principle remaining in the Post-Cold War military. In the last year alone, there have been greater than thirty professional journal studies and major newspaper articles addressing an apparent crisis in civil-military relations in this country. Contrasted against this is the fact that the American military is consistently ranked the most highly respected institution in the country and greater than ninety percent of Americans express some confidence in the military.[3] The issues currently being debated are diverse and range from the politicization of the officer corps, to the effects of casualty aversion on the decision to employ force, to the results of personnel policies on group behavior and military effectiveness.[4] While it is premature to evaluate every study and draw general conclusions, specific data points to both convergence and divergence in critical policy areas in the realm of civil-military relations. What can be determined definitively is that tremendous technological and social change is occurring in society that is producing equally significant demands on society. This situation has resulted in conflicting interests between institutions and greater society as institutions either struggle to adjust to or resist change.

This paper will address one aspect crucial to the very nature of the current debate on civil-military relations, that of military values and culture in the greater society. Specifically, how has technological and social change affected military values and culture and what is the effect of this change on factors that define military effectiveness? Several questions inform the nature of this investigation. What are the differences between military and civilian values in America? Is it necessary for military culture and values to differ from those of society? What is the historical relevance of technological and social change on military values and culture? Have American values changed significantly since the end of the Cold War or does the absence of an over-arching threat to the state allow a deeper reflection on the differences between society and the military?

This paper will attempt to answer these important questions by analyzing the values and culture of the military against the backdrop of technological and social change. The effect of social and

technological change on culture and value systems will be presented from a historical perspective. An analysis of culture and military effectiveness will be presented along with evidence relating to the apparent 'gap' in civil-military affairs. After developing this analysis, general assumptions regarding change and military effectiveness will be provided along with conclusions about the relevance of values and culture to the apparent crisis in civil-military relations in America today.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Inherent in any civil-military dynamic are underlying sociological and organizational considerations that inform the issues at hand, thereby allowing both theoretical and empirical methods of analysis. The sociological view attempts to frame issues through concepts and ideas about society and human behavior. This view allows not only a range of study not encountered in most other social sciences, but a means to analyze specific behaviors, processes, and relationships in support of broader aspects of sociology. A study of institutional relationships and interactions in civil-military relations will use the basic concepts listed below.

- Society -- Persons organized into complex systems of relationship with one another;
- Culture -- The totality of what is learned by individuals in an environment, including knowledge, beliefs, and customs as well as characteristic ways of perceiving and evaluating;
- Institutions -- The clusters of activities and rules deemed essential to societal welfare;
- Social groups, differentiation, and control -- Refers to the collection of human beings, distribution of activities and duties, and the process of inducing conformity and adherence to values in society; and
- Social change -- A basic and ever-present force resulting in alterations and modifications in societies and cultures.[5]

Synthesizing the concepts presented above informs how the military functions as an institution in society. The role a military plays in society is dependent on many factors, not the least of which is the perceived worth that institution brings to the overall welfare of the society. A basic set of assumptions presented at the outset is that complex social systems will contain institutions that perform roles and functions for and with each other. Additionally, these roles and functions cannot occur independently of one another. There must be some level of convergence in terms of ideologies, values, or norms common to the society. Generally, the more developed and integrated a society, the more formalized the roles and relationships institutions play in that society. It follows that the United States, being one of the most developed and complex democracies in the world will have one of the strongest forms of institutionalization and, thus, one of the most intricate systems of civil-military interaction in the world.

FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

To understand the context of the current debate, civil-military relations are defined as the "interactions between the armed forces (as institutions) and sectors of the society in which they are embedded"; and this relationship "presupposes differentiation between the leaders, institutions, values,

and prerogatives of the military and the leaders, institutions, values and prerogatives of the civilian populace."[6] Accordingly, within a purely theoretical framework the notion of divergence becomes a central principle. From this understanding, the relationship between civilian and military institutions can be further defined in terms of conflict theory, or the "perceived divergence of interest or belief that the parties' current aspirations cannot be achieved simultaneously."[7] From the outset, the tension between convergence and divergence is identified not as an abnormality or defect, but a natural occurrence in civil-military relations in terms of traditional social behavior, where conflict is always present in society.[8] What must be investigated and understood is less the threshold of conflict that identifies a degraded social system (what some would term a 'crisis') and more an acceptable range of conflict and interaction that produces the most effective system of national security for that society.

To grasp an understanding of the normative range of conflict within which the military institution should function, a further definition of the term 'institution' as it applies to the military is required. Military institutions are characterized as "organized activities for carrying on aggression against other societies, protecting the society against aggression by others, and providing the means for maintaining domestic order and control."[9] The singular aspect of the military institution that separates it from other institutions in society, such as education, public safety, and banking is the uniquely professional nature of its members. This professionalism stems not from the fact that the military is a unique occupation, but because of the specialized characteristics of the institutional group.

In general terms, the attributes of any profession can be summarized as follows:

- Related to, and founded upon, a body of systemic theory, incorporating the notion that the performance of a professional service involves a series of unusually complicated and difficult operations requiring lengthy training;
- Authority based upon a specialist expertise which differentiates the professional from the layman;
- Community sanctions which enable powers and privileges granted to them by the society; and
- A professional culture, which includes values, norms, and symbols.[10]

In his seminal work on civil-military relations, Samuel Huntington identified these specialized characteristics of the military profession as:

- Expertise -- Specialized knowledge and skill in a significant field of human endeavor, in this case the application of violence;
- Responsibility -- The essential and general character of service and a monopoly of skills impose responsibilities to perform the service when required by society, as well as provide the society's direct and continuing interest in the employment of this skill; and

- · Corporateness -- The legitimate right to undertake these responsibilities limited to a carefully defined body having a sense of unity that sets them apart from others in society, creating a defining culture.[11]

In addition to Huntington's characteristics, Morris Janowitz, in The Professional Soldier, added the following attributes to the military professional:

- Only the officer corps act as professionals because of the perceived or actual power they wield;
- Professional responsibilities are really only operative during war;
- Technology has modernized and specialized militaries resulting in changed career patterns, ideologies, skills and value systems; and
- An objective of militaries in most western democracies is that the armed services would never have to perform the function for which they were constantly preparing.[12]

Given a basic understanding of the defining characteristics of the military institution, the forces that shape the institution can be investigated. Huntington identified the very conflict that exists in civil-military relations when he described the forces that affect the military institution. These forces are the functional imperative, which stems from the threats to the society's security; and the societal imperative, which arises from the social forces, ideologies, and institutions that are dominant in the society.[13] He further states that the conflict between the functional and societal imperative is the nexus of civil-military relations and, thus, the focus of his and many other investigations of the topic.[14] An assumption presented is, if one applies the direct effect of change, either social or technological, in terms of conflict theory, to the functional and societal imperatives, the result is greater tension between the military institution and society. The reason for this tension, I argue, is that change is addressed in terms of an institution's value system and, thus, markedly different value systems will likely have different reactions to change.

AMERICAN CIVIL AND MILITARY VALUES

> We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.
>
> —U.S. Declaration of Independence[15]

The culture of an institution presents the framework of knowledge and behavior, as well as normative and evaluative processes that are learned or socialized by members of the institution. From the evaluative process, specific values are derived which assign to different institutions in varying orders of importance. Values flow from numerous sources and reflect the group's roles and functions in society, as well as reflecting underlying societal values transposed to the value sets of the institutions and individuals.

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AMERICAN VALUES

Before proceeding, it is important to identify those basic values that underlie the American social experience. These terms can be considered meta-values for the breadth of influence and, in turn, variety of interpretation many of these values evoke. Table 1, though certainly not conclusive, and not prioritized in any manner, provides a starting point whereby comparisons and analysis can begin. Taking these meta-values in the context of the American social experience, historical examples abound that demonstrate conflicting interpretations of these values by parts of society. It is easy to see where divergence in values occurs when considering, for example, liberty and equality, or equality and achievement. For instance, the concepts of 'separate, but equal' and desegregation elicit entirely different interpretations of equality, while the values of achievement held by free enterprise capitalists differ radically from advocates of labor protection and unions.

American Cultural Inventory of Values

Liberty – Freedom to pursue one's own purpose and freedom from interference
Equality – Of condition (or opportunity) and/or outcome
Achievement – To strive to do one's best
Justice – System of law dedicated to moral ends
Precedent – Past decisions should be followed in present circumstances
Rule of law – Rulers and ruled alike are answerable to the law
Private Property – Desire to be secure in one's own material comfort
Localism – Government built on the foundation of federalism
Democracy – Consent of the governed

TABLE 1. AMERICAN CULTURAL INVENTORY OF VALUES[16]

In a culture as diverse as this nation's, the extent of the conflict in value identification and definition is bound to be considerable. In fact, not only do several American values contradict one another, but also many have changed over time. This relative change over time has generally resulted in a reprioritization of values in society. While society or any institution may agree on a list of American meta-values, it is less likely agreement will be reached on any arrangement of them in relative priority because there exist countless varieties of value subsystems, perhaps as many as there are members of American society.[17] In Figure 1, a depiction of a notional multiple-level value system in the military is provided by example. The conclusion drawn from this example is the recognition that the military's value system will differ from society and, in fact, differences will exist within subgroups of the military institution itself. In addition, individual values are interwoven at each level of the system as individuals make decisions and interact. The impact of these factors on military effectiveness can be addressed at each level, from the strategic or national level down to the warfighting unit level.
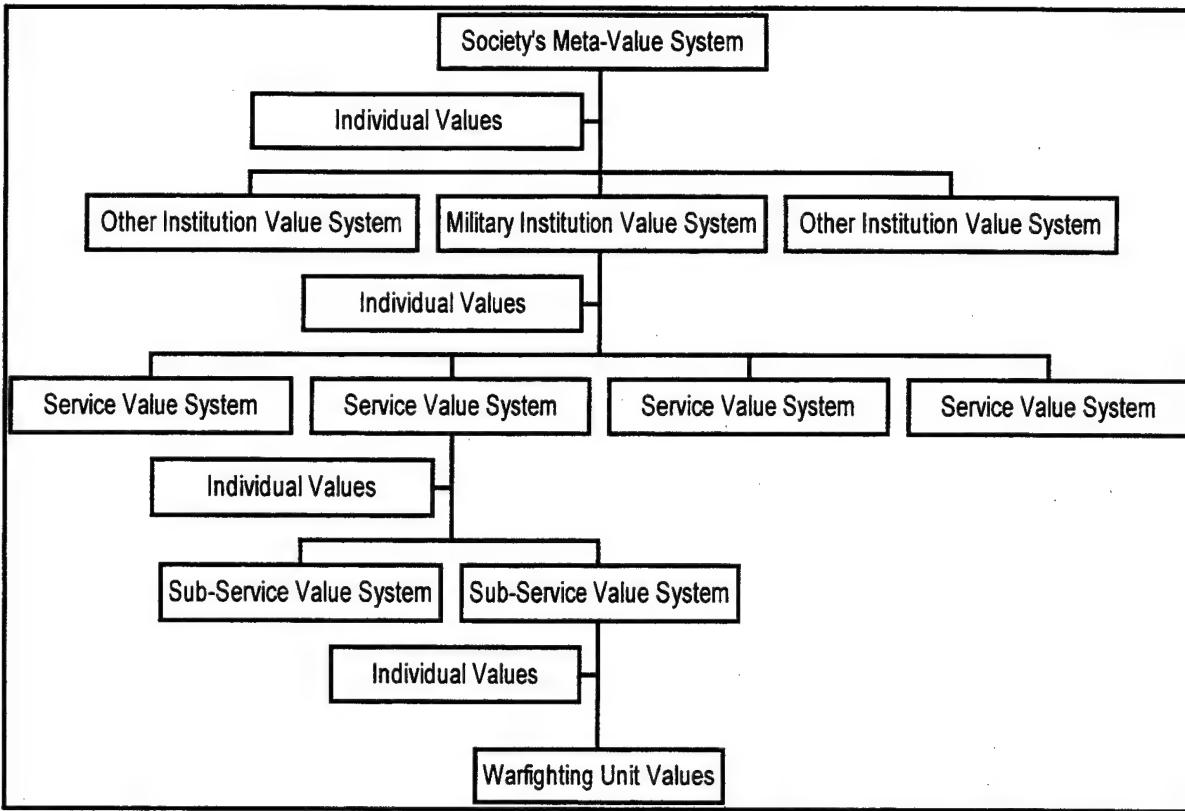
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                    Society's Meta-Value System
              Individual Values
Other Institution Value System | Military Institution Value System | Other Institution Value System
                    Individual Values
Service Value System | Service Value System | Service Value System | Service Value System
        Individual Values
Sub-Service Value System | Sub-Service Value System
              Individual Values
                    Warfighting Unit Values
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FIGURE 1. MULTI-LEVEL VALUE SYSTEMS[18]

MILITARY VALUES AND PROFESSIONALISM

In a democratic society, for the military institution to function effectively and exhibit those characteristics that, in Huntington's view, define it as a profession, there must be some aspect of legitimacy conferred upon the military by society. Since the central objective of the military is the security of the state, the society becomes the sole client of the military and the military's relevance is determined in terms of society's perceived value of the military institution.[19] Not only must the profession demonstrate its expertise, but it must also show some relative linkage between its corporateness, responsibility, and the community's value system.[20] At the very minimum, the military institution must be supportive of society's basic values, although its corporateness authorizes it the creation of a distinctly different set of values.

The system of military values, while not universally identified, revolves around the basic principle of obedience, as Alfred Thayer Mahan stated, "…the rule of obedience is simply the expression of that one among the military virtues upon which all others depend…"[21] Integrating the many nuances in terminology and statements of principle, an attempt to list military values is provided in Table 2. A common thread running through military values is the acceptance of a subordinate and unselfish role in service to the state. This is the basic 'warrior' or military ethic and from it flows the commitment of the individual to the

state, the military, the unit, his or her comrades, and finally, a willingness to kill and die for them all. This military ethic is borne out of basic military values and serves to distinguish the military institution from any other in society.

Military Values
Obedience
Loyalty
Integrity
Duty
Selflessness
Hierarchy
Subordination
Discipline

TABLE 2. MILITARY VALUES[22]

Military values, like society's, have been established over time and must be imparted to members through learning or socialization. The learning and socialization process is dynamic and different for each institution and subject to influence by outside forces and other aspects of society. To the extent that individual values differ from the larger group defines the range of commitment to the larger group's values. Likewise, the amount that individual values are affected by cultural and technological change affects the level of adherence to the larger group's values. Therefore, I argue that despite the existence of a distinct military ethic, individual and subgroup values exist and the occurrence of change influences the values of individuals, the military institution, and society directly and indirectly in a variety of ways.

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

An analysis of the historical evolution of military values and culture in American society is portrayed against the larger background of the tension that has existed in civil-military relations throughout the nation's history. Beginning with the intent of the framers of the Constitution, the delicate balance of providing for the defense of the state against the dilemma of unrestrained coercive power of the military was established.[23]

ORIGINS OF CIVIL MILITARY RELATIONS

For nearly one hundred years, the military in America was relegated to a peripheral role in society for several reasons. Foremost of these was an enduring suspicion of the military, passed on to successive leadership groups in America, albeit for very different reasons. These reasons are summarized below:

> To the Eighteenth Century Whigs and Jeffersonians large military forces were a threat to liberty; the Jacksonians saw them as a threat to democracy; the dominant industrial and business groups after the Civil War saw them as a threat to economic productivity and prosperity; and the progressives and liberals saw them as a threat to reform. Almost everyone thought large standing military forces were a threat to peace.[24]

Therefore, these influential institutions viewed the military as a threat to their intrinsic interests. In a self-perpetuating cycle, except for periods of war, the military was assigned roles of little importance and, as an institution, was viewed to have little value to the general security and interests of the nation. The officer corps was largely unprofessional and relatively indistinct from the rest of society. Anecdotal evidence shows that some of the Army's early leaders actually left the service in pursuit of commercial interests only to return upon the advent of later wars. Not until the latter Nineteenth Century did formal professionalization of the officer corps begin in earnest, in direct response to the transformation of society around it.

THE ERA OF CHANGE

At the end of the Nineteenth Century the military turned inward and, for the first time, developed a uniquely military outlook. This reaction was in direct response to the tremendous effects of the industrial revolution, which brought equally significant social and technological change to American society in the form of liberalism, commercialism, pacifism, and internationalism.[25] The scope of change throughout the world during this period is summed up in the following statement,

> Man had entered the Nineteenth Century using only his own and animal power, supplemented by that of wind and water, much as he had entered the Thirteenth, or, for that matter, the First. He entered the Twentieth with his capacities in transportation, communication, production, manufacturing and weaponry multiplied a thousandfold by the energy of machines.[26]

The industrial and scientific change of the late Nineteenth Century resulted in an entirely "new relationship between man and the natural environment, technology overcame darkness (the lightbulb), the sky (the airplane), the horizon (the automobile), and many of the burdens of work, as well as opening up new avenues to entertainment".[27] By 1890, the United States had the largest rail network in the world, was the leading agricultural producer and industrial power and had the fastest economic growth in the world.[28] Technology was seen as the road to achieve a better society and American inventors and industrialists led this tremendous change around the world.

During this period of amazing growth and expansion, the government served chiefly as agent for capitalist barons and companies. Scandals and abuse of power were rampant and resulted in demands for reform in government.[29] Social attitudes were changing, driven in part by Darwin's theories of evolution and natural selection and conflict and organizational theories of Marx, Durkheim and Weber, which challenged the religious and moral nature of man's very existence, shaking the foundation of values in greater society.[30] Counter to the overriding influence of industrialization at this time was the equally strong effort to end conflict through arbitration and international law and improve the lot of workers through social change. Charles Chatfield views the essence of the social movement at the turn of the century through the following assessment.

> Peace advocacy meant internationalism; the world was progressing morally and materially, and the upward thrust of evolution was being carried by industrialized and Christian nations; war was an anachronism in an increasingly integrated and international

society, and it would be supplanted by instruments for consultation, arbitration, and adjudication; these social inventions would be created and implemented by an educated and professional elite; and therefore the real agenda of peace was to produce and convey the scientific knowledge that would develop practical alternatives to war.[31]

Contrasted against this dramatic transformation was the American military's incredible resistance to change. This resistance was propagated in part because of the military's general life outlook: a Hobbesian perspective that man was naturally evil and the growth of social and technological change was only a mask for the pride and avarice that was the underpinning of man's being.[32] Instead of adapting to the outside world, the military focussed internally on the values of the organization, developing them in stark contrast to the individualism and hedonism of American society. As the values of the military hardened in response to change around it, a corporate ethic of military professionalism emerged from the isolation.[33] Military writers such as Upton, Luce, and Mahan developed the professional ideas, which in turn created the institutions, which fostered the study of these ideas in military schools, further socializing and reinforcing the emerging military ethic.[34] While the emergence of this professional ethic served to effectively alienate the military from American society, in stark contrast, the convergence of military and civilian values and the utter lack of civilian control of the military institution in Europe set the stage for the coming clash, World War I.[35]

In large measure, the experience of the American military at the end of the Nineteenth Century is a prime study of institutional reaction to change. The technological changes of the Industrial Revolution precipitated tremendous social change across the landscape of American society, both positive and negative. The reaction of the military to this change served to solidify the professional nature of the institution, perhaps in response to a threat to the institution's very existence in society. This reaction, however, left the military and society largely unprepared for the massive mobilization effort required to support the U.S. entry into World War I. The fact that American industry at this time was anti-ethical to military professionalism and not a part of the military's sphere of influence left America unable to support or sustain the war effort on the scale required.

The conclusions drawn from this historical analysis are:

- First – By its isolation (both functional and ideological), the military effectively severed the close ties formerly held with society. In reality, this could be argued as a prescient view of a changing world's nature and the wake up call for America's newfound role as a world power. What is important to note is the conflict arose because the military believed its aspirations could not be achieved simultaneously with society, the fundamental principle of conflict theory.

- Second – The socialization of the military elite (the officer corps) to emerging military values required the further strengthening of the military institution since society's values were diverging from military values. The desire to consolidate and strengthen institutions at a time of great change flows from a distinct fear for the actual survival of the institution. I argue the maintenance of the military institution became a greater goal than the contribution of the

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institution to the welfare of society, and contributed to America's ineffectiveness at the beginning of the World War I.

- Third – Because of this evolution, the military institution began to be recognized as a source of influence and political thought, despite a commitment to be characteristically apolitical. Although reserved to a few influential spokesmen, military thought emerged as an undercurrent of traditional values in society and played an important, albeit, supporting role until after World War II when the military institution emerged as a recognized player on the national stage.

FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS

Military professionalism must ultimately be grounded on the premise that military ethics converge with the ethical values of the larger society. A military system in a democratic society cannot long maintain its credibility and legitimacy if its ethical standards significantly differ from the civilian values of the larger society.[36]

CULTURE

An analysis of the effects of change on military culture should begin with a definition of military culture and identification of its elements. Culture can be viewed from two perspectives. First, according to Edgar Schein, "Culture is what a group learns over a period of time as that group solves its problems of survival in an external environment and its problems of internal integration."[37] Second, military culture can be viewed in terms of the purposes or tasks for which it exists, waging war on the nation's behalf. As Theo Farrell has described, military culture is "an elaborate social construction, an exercise of creative intelligence, through which we come to imagine war in a particular way and to embrace certain rationalizations about how war should be conducted and for what purposes."[38] Within this view, the four basic elements of military culture are:

- Discipline – The orderly conduct of military personnel or the ritualization of the violence of war;
- Professional Ethos – A set of normative self-understandings that define the profession's identity, code of conduct and social worth;
- Ceremonial displays and traditions – Rituals that control or mask anxieties and ignorance and affirm solidarity, providing substance and motivation; and
- Cohesion and esprit de corps – Measure of unit morale and willingness to perform a mission and fight.[39]

A recent report by the Center for Strategic and International Studies presented the presumption that the elements of military culture are all affected by technological and social change. It stated that, "today's armed forces, anchored by the bonds of tradition and the requirements of military effectiveness, will also be pushed by the winds of society's pressures and pulled by the currents created by government policies and technological change."[40] To understand the effect of this change one must identify the elements of military culture having the greatest impact on military effectiveness. Likewise, those aspects of military

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culture having the least impact on military effectiveness should be identified, as they can be considered the most amenable to change.

Today, the U.S. military finds itself in the midst of a cultural transition identified by changing geopolitical conditions and a growing consensus among foreign policy elite that U.S. armed forces should be used for purposes outside of their main mission: to fight and win the country's wars.[41] Recently it has been argued that the military is aggressively protecting and adhering to every aspect of its culture and is viewed as resistant to change and out of touch with reality.[42] While a broad generalization, there may be a slight amount of validity to this claim. The military has shown a willingness to change itself throughout its history, but normally a result of its corporate behavior. There may be instances when it is in the nation's interest that the military be driven to change some aspect of its culture. It is not solely a matter of if military culture should change, but what aspects of military culture can change and which aspects must not change.

GENERATIONS, COHORTS, AND AMERICAN VALUES

An ancient proverb states that 'men resemble the times more than they do their fathers.'[43] This is particularly true for American society in the Post World War II era and a factor to be considered when assessing challenges to the military institution. To better understand the impact of these challenges on values and culture, the effect of generations and cohort groups on the shaping of attitudes and values must be evaluated. In general terms, a generation is usually 20-25 years in length, or roughly the amount of time it takes a person to grow up and have children, whereas, a cohort group can be as long or short as the events that define it.[44] Within each generation there are subgroupings of cohorts that are defined by particular events at critical developmental life stages. Members of generations and cohort groups are normally linked by shared life experiences and consequently, they develop similar value priorities and cultural patterns that set the tone for their direction and provide them with a sense of cohesion.[45] Understanding that members of the military are shaped by the larger generational and cohort group patterns provides insight into how segments of the military population behave and how they establish their values. Table 3 provides a snapshot of key characteristics of the primary generational groups in America today and, upon review, reveals possible trends toward increased toleration and relativism that will effect both society's values and military effectiveness.

Key Attributes of American Generations

MATURES – Duty, Team player, Technology symbolizes progress and power
BABY BOOMERS – Individuality, Self-absorbed, Technology is either good or bad
GENERATION-X – Diversity, Entrepreneur, Technology is relative (good and bad)

TABLE 3. KEY ATTRIBUTES OF AMERICAN GENERATIONS[46]

By comparison to the previous century, the latter half of the Twentieth Century was shaped by similarly dramatic technological and social change. One need only look at changes in race, gender, authority, and environmental issues from the 1950s through the 1990s, as well as the changing demographics of America in the last two decades (family, racial, and ethnic) to understand the social pressures being applied to the military institution. Coupled with social change, the Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA), a response to dramatic information and communications technology advances that have brought the world closer together, is reshaping the modern battlefield and redefining military roles and missions.[47] It is no wonder the issues of military culture and civil military relations have become so interesting, the entire framework of the military institution has become subject to change.

Historically, the values of American society have coexisted rather peacefully with and even shifted toward military values in times of major conflict and when vital national interests were viewed to be at stake. An example of the latter includes, America's involvement in World War II, where a national emergency constituted the basis for a reprioritization of values and the acceptance of less freedom and greater subordination to authority by the public. During the Cold War period, marked by limited military and proxy actions and often vaguely defined threats to the national interest, military and civilian values ebbed and flowed, but coexisted largely due to the overarching threat of nuclear holocaust. In more recent years, America's identification of evil leaders and regimes (i.e., Slobodan Milosevic, Saddam Hussein, and the Soviet Union) has not resulted in the movement of civil values closer to military values, but provided an umbrella that allowed military action to be undertaken in the name of the state.

Considering the tremendous social change of the 1950s and 1960s and the cohort value effects of the Radical and Liberal Left, American values have suprisingly reflected a shift back to conservatism in the period from the 1960s to the 1990s. In 1964, less than a third of a public policy survey's respondents felt the government would do the right thing most of the time compared with more than two-thirds who believed the opposite in 1998.[48] This attitude corresponds accordingly with the improved public perception of the military in the past twenty years. Paradoxically, American society has also become more tolerant of the existence of dramatically different groups, but strikingly more worried about moral and ethical values.[49] This may have as much to do with the spread of technology and communication and interconnectedness in our society as it does with the transition between changing and evolving generations and cohort groups.

CHALLENGES OF FUTURE GENERATIONS

Although cultural change has occurred throughout history, the present pace of change is unprecedented and accentuated by the intensity of global reach and the amount of cultural interactions taking place within contemporary telecommunication, broadcasting, and transport infrastructures.[50] Future change, affected by a greater reliance on technology and the diluted bonds of a more diverse and multicultural society, will result in a more clustered society exhibiting scattered values and attitudes, increasingly individualistic, relativistic and anti-nationalistic in nature. The personnel challenges facing

the military institution because of this change are great and revolve around how future cohort group and individual value sets motivate individuals to a career in the military. An even greater challenge will be to build the sort of cohesion and military ethos that will function effectively in the environments in which the military can expect to operate.

The changing dimensions of American society will affect the military's ability to attract additional members and retain those currently serving. The following data reflects only a small portion of the social changes and shifting attitudes and values of youth in America that will affect the military of tomorrow.

- Civilian labor market expansion, evidenced by an unemployment rate decrease from 7.3% in January 1992 to 4.7% in January 1998.

- In a multinational survey conducted of youth around the world, American attitudes of satisfaction with their country and outlooks for success were among the highest overall in the world and considerably higher than the attitudes of youth from other Western Democratic states.[51]

- The annual Youth Attitude Tracking Study compiled by the Department of Defense samples roughly 10,000 youth each year. While the interest to go to college has risen, the interest in joining the military has fallen.[52]

- Changes in the size of the youth population, relative military pay, and other functional changes, have caused enlistments to fall and makes the civilian labor market more attractive to youth today.[53]

- The 'virus of violence,' characterizing modern youth culture, is marked by some very disturbing statistics:
  - The murder rate in this country has more than doubled in the last 40 years, the prison population has quadrupled in the last 25 years and the prevalence of media violence and the acceptance of violence in our culture is a major contributing factor."[54]
  - The operant conditioning of violent video games has resulted in conditioned reflex behavior of children to point and shoot.[55]
  - Media violence not only desensitizes individuals to killing by the sheer volume of violence, but it also makes it pleasurable by associating it with popular advertising.[56]

The effects of these social phenomena on the military are presently unknown; however, the challenges of manning and sustaining a force capable of upholding the military ethic in this environment will be great.

MULTICULTURALISM

It is important to distinguish between the effect of multiculturalism as an ideology and the effects of a multi-cultural society. American society and the rest of the world are becoming increasingly multi-cultural. The root causes can be traced to technology, the economy, and other social forces, and will continue to pose challenges to institutions and cultures.[57] Trends in immigration and social relationships resulting from this multi-cultural world have direct implications on the values and culture of society and the

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military institution. The following data is evidence of the shifting demographic patterns in America and indicative of future social challenges to military institutions.

- The increasing impact of immigration is evidenced by the rise in foreign-born residents in the United States, up from 8 percent in 1990 to 9.3 percent in 1998.[58]
- Interracial marriages have increased, resulting in a true blending of American culture and traditional values. Five percent of all married couples are mixed race today up from 3 percent in 1980.[59]

An important distinction for military policy makers is the recognition that multiculturalism refers to an ideology rather than to any social structure.[60] As William McNeill has stated, "Multiculturalism as an ideology is the province of a small fringe group of people who seem to say that every culture is just as good as every other and deserves just as much space as anyone else's."[61] Many of the recent attacks on military culture are predominately from those espousing such ideology as a means to unify and build support against institutions that do not subscribe to its views.

There is no debate over whether today's military is multi-cultural. Those that would force the military to adhere to multiculturalism as an ideology would cause it to no longer support a distinct set of overall military values and corporate responsibilities, cutting away the very heart of the military ethic. Equally important for the military institution, however, is the recognition that upholding "military values, culture, and institutions of the past against enemies of the status quo will do little to protect the essence of military culture in the long run because all cultures are essentially historically shaped".[62] The challenge then, is to diminish the military's aversion to change in order to protect its values, for doing so might place the entire institution at risk if society comes to believe the military has lost its legitimacy.

IMPACT ON MILITARY EFFECTIVENESS

It is inconceivable to this author that civil-military relations could become a crisis in America, for the greatest value, as Mahan said, is obedience and it is expected that the American military will always follow those lawful orders of the National Command Authority (NCA). How the military interacts with civilian leadership and what issues and policies drive the interaction and tension define the range of conflict in the National Security process. As previously stated, because of the military's commitment to military obedience, the high end of the spectrum of conflict will never be reached and a 'crisis' in civil-military relations will never occur. The challenge to the military remains, therefore, not only to retain the ability to successfully perform its mission, but to foster a tangible and credible link to society. That link will not be enhanced through the threat of an international thug or pariah state or by the military retreating into isolationism. The nation and the military can ill-afford those alternatives. The essence of the problem is to preserve a moral justification for maintaining a standing military for the Twenty-First Century. Doing so moves closer to building an enduring link between society and the military that will reinforce the relationship as well as legitimize it in terms of political and social change.

The first step to building that legitimacy is to identify those aspects of military culture that do not have a direct impact on military effectiveness to better associate the institution with the technological and social change occurring in society. Those aspects of culture that have an impact on military effectiveness should only be changed when it is functionally advantageous for the military. The debate over racial integration beginning in the 1950s and the inclusion of females in combat roles, from the 1970s onward, are subjects that were originally resisted by claims of a negative impact on the military ethos and unit cohesion. When the military recognized that its policies regarding race and gender were not only morally discordant, but also functionally degraded, it rapidly changed them. In response to future challenges, until either functional or moral criteria are met, the military should not change culture to suit the desires of a special interest group or segment of society.

The vertical or hierarchical aspects of military culture (discipline and ceremonialism) deal less with the effectiveness of the military from a corporate standpoint and more from an organizational or hierarchical nature than do the horizontal aspects of culture (military ethos and cohesion). These vertical aspects are critical to maintaining organization and efficiency, but have less of an impact on the actual ability of a unit to perform successfully in action, whatever action that may be. The vertical aspects of culture are also more historical in nature, or steeped in tradition and myth, as opposed to the horizontal factors, which are more current and directly impact effectiveness, therefore, more relevant to conducting operations in a military unit.

The common denominator in both of those elements of culture is the value set of the basic military operating unit, be it an infantry platoon, a section of fighter aircraft or a ship's Combat Information Center watch team. As Don Snider has argued, soldiers do not fight cohesively because of ideology or patriotism, the essential factor is loyalty to the group, rooted in basic survival instincts.[63] Cohesion is not a one-dimensional idea; however, the true nature of cohesion includes the ability to effectively engage in a technical competency while maintaining unity within and between the larger organization.[64] In fact, as the force becomes increasingly educated and technically trained and specialized, the hierarchical relationships in the military may change significantly. The litmus test for changing military culture must be whether those changes will ultimately affect basic military values and concomitantly the warrior ethic and unit cohesion.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This paper has begun a study on the effects of change on military values, culture, and effectiveness. From a historical perspective, periods of significant social and technological change have initially met with a hardening of military culture, but have generally resulted in change and innovation after the military has recognized an overwhelming functional or moral utility in the change. Examples include the early professionalization of the military at the end of the Nineteenth Century, attempts to deal with the corporateness of a nuclear capable, standing military in the Post World War II environment, and efforts to return to core military values by the Post Vietnam military of the 1970s.

In today's technology oriented, multi-cultural military, we would be foolish not to recognize that individual and other group values have a significant impact on our force. Values of greater society, as in the latter half of the Nineteenth Century have not so much changed as they have been reordered in priority, influenced by technological and social changes of the times. Gone are the days when the force was comprised predominately of single soldiers living in barracks cloistered from society. Today the military is much smaller than any other time in the last sixty years, yet more integrated with the society it serves than at any other time in our recent history. Economic, social, political, and certainly technological change has served as the catalyst and the demographics of the Post Baby Boom generation and its cohort groups will be felt more strongly than by any other military in history. If one reads between the lines, however, the future operating environment is likely to be more conducive to the type of person the culture is presently developing: the future battlefield will be widely dispersed, interconnected, highly relativistic, and more reliant on individual or very small group action.

One dilemma facing the postmodern military revolves around who was right, Huntington, or Janowitz? Must the military remain separate and keep its values and culture intact in order to maintain its professional nature or must it begin to converge with liberal democratic values in order to retain legitimacy in society? This is ultimately a matter of meeting both the societal and functional imperatives. I argue that neither Huntington nor Janowitz could predict the outcome of a war without distinct battlefields and an enemy one could never directly engage. The Cold War was more a war of cultures than a military conflict and in the end, Capitalism was the winner. To a certain extent, the victor sets the terms over the vanquished and an increasingly globalized and multi-cultural world are the terms.

Since the end of World War II, the military has operated along a spectrum of conflict and interaction with civilian society that has been largely successful. The military institution has responded to technological change and social pressures, albeit slowly at times, but methodically and pragmatically. Is this indicative of an institution with only its own interests in mind? I argue to the contrary. Culture and values are framed historically and the pragmatic nature of the military institution makes it difficult to view change in terms other than the past or present. Bounded by budget and policy-making processes equally resistant to change, it is extremely difficult for the military to actively address change unless there is some assurance of success. Therefore, I posit, the military institution does not seek the protection of its very existence; it attempts to guarantee its ability to succeed in its mission.

However, uncertainty regarding roles and missions, attacks by multiculturalism warriors on the military ethos, and tremendous challenges of inspiring a new generation of Americans to service above self are just a few of the many pressures military culture and civil-military relations face in the near future.

In the end, the question is whether the military can generate and maintain the warrior ethic while retaining relevancy in society. The military will be able to do so only to the extent that other aspects of its culture not related to military effectiveness can be changed. Technology and social change will influence the nature of warfare as it did in the late Nineteenth Century, during the Vietnam War, and as it is currently doing today. Military culture can remain relevant by changing aspects of culture related to

discipline or the means of organizing and conducting warfare, as well as changing the traditions and customs related to how it normatively views warfare. What must not be sacrificed, however, is the basic warrior ethic and it should only be modified to the extent that it enhances military effectiveness, or the functional imperative of Huntington.

The military can ill afford to return to a period of isolationism, to protect its culture and values. The military must make a concerted effort to maintain legitimacy with the society it is sworn to defend. To do this, the military must not sacrifice the basic values that define the prime warfighting units and, thus, the ultimate aspect of military effectiveness. For society has not foresworn the meta-values that define its very existence. What can and must change are those other aspects of military culture that inform the military's links to society, not that which separates it. Only then can the bridge between military and civilian society be strengthened and the roles and functions of the military in the Twenty-First Century be legitimized. While it is important to maintain a distinct value set as a part of military culture, other aspects of the culture can and must change in order for the institution to maintain its relevance with society, which ultimately grants it legitimacy. For as Huntington said, "In the end, the dilemma of military institutions in a liberal society can only be resolved satisfactorily by a military establishment that is different but not distant from the society it serves."[65]

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ENDNOTES

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